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Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case histories reveal that horse meat was eaten on occasion and relished. In food-getting Comanche culture was basically a buffalo culture. [262]

As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. In this respect the horse was a [492] capital good. But the single individual could not effectively utilize more than a dozen horses in his personal string for use in war and hunting.

Beyond this, horses were exceedingly acceptable as gifts and tokens of 431 esteem. As gifts given in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to 422 medicine men, they served as an informal medium of exchange. As objects demandable in settlement of damage suits at law, they were a tangible form of material wealth endowed with legal and monetary significance.

In spite of all this, the great value of horses to the Comanche was a [554] fiduciary value of inflated worth as prestige tokens, a value rooted in socio-psychological rather than economic factors.

Though captured Mexican youths and children purchased from poverty- 233 stricken Shoshone Indians served as herdsmen, and the increase of herds 556 through selective breeding was practiced by the Comanches, the basic fac- [567] tor in the acquisition and retaining of a large herd was the military skill of the owners. Thus it is that the possession of horses figured in the prestige competition which so constantly and vigorously activated the life of the Comanche male.

The size of Comanche herds was immense. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Upon the count of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Antelope band alone surrendered one thousand five hundred horses to the United States at the time of the capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[17] A single Comanche, Big Fall By Tripping, is reputed among the Indians to have owned more than a thousand horses at one time.

The great communal hunts of the buffalo occurred during the summer 224 months after the seasonal moulting was done and hides were in their prime. This was the season for the in-gathering of the bands. Sporadic and uncontrolled hunting of buffalo occurred whenever they were available during other seasons.

The time of the hunt was determined in democratic assembly at which everybody was welcome to listen, but in which the war leaders took the important part. The date for departure being set, the young and able-bodied men with their women left the main camp. Children and old persons remained behind. The expedition travelled light, taking very small and undecorated tipis and what weapons and tools were necessary.

[17] Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Annual Report, Washington, 1875), p. 273.

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624 727 "The people were pleased when they got back to the camp with their great deeds. They had a big Victory Dance, celebrating almost until morning. The young girls came again to give a Shakedown Dance; the boy's father gave them three horses.

"Later on the warriors gave a Horse Dance. It was a sign they were going on a [126] raid. The boy was with them. This time they had a battle with the Osages. The enemy had three chiefs to lead them; they were out in front, so the young boy charged, killing them all. A regular dog fight followed. But the Osages were without their chiefs, so they could not last very long. When it was over the Comanches cut off the roaches of the Osages for scalps.

"The people gave dances just as before. This time the boy's father gave away four horses. Three years had passed. The boy was now a young man of great renown. He was a mighty fighter, a killer of chiefs.

624 "The wearers of the war bonnets held a meeting about him. They talked about the famous things he had done. It was decided the young man should be raised to the status of war chief.

"They got ready and set up a buffalo hide tipi, painted over with white clay. The people knew they were going to make a war chief of the young man. He was only nineteen years old, but he was very brave.

"They laid buffalo robes and blankets on the smooth floor for the warriors to sit upon; all was ready.

"The wearers of war bonnets were first to enter. The bravest went in first; the others followed after. They turned to the left as they passed through the entrance, walking all the way about the tipi until the first one came to the place at the right side of the door. They came in until they lined the edge of the floor. The leader sat at the west side. Then they waited for the young man.

"When his turn came he went through the door of the tipi and walked to the left until he came to a vacant space at the side of the leader. The leader got up to address the warriors. He repeated everything the brave had done, closing his speech with these words, 'This young man has done enough brave deeds. He is honorable and brave. He shall be one of us. He is as brave as any of us and we make him one of us. What is more, I honor him ahead of myself. Hereafter, he is chief in my stead.'

"Turning to the young man, he took in his hands a fine war bonnet with two ● [554] rows of feathers as a special honor. Putting the bonnet on the boy's head, he said to him, 'This is nothing but a bunch of feathers given by your friends.'

"The boy was now a war chief. Because the leader had made him chief in his stead, the young warrior walked right to the place to the north of the door and took his seat. The newest member usually had to sit at the end of the line to the south of the door, but he was the greatest fighter they had ever had.

"Then it was over. The young war leader rolled up his blanket and walked out; the others followed him."[9]

[9] One has more than a sneaking suspicion that this story has been embellished with its portion of heroic ornament. But it was told to illustrate how a war bonnet was obtained, and that it does very well.

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Post Oak Jim described the details of the process as he remembered it in his band, the Antelope, in slightly different terms. The novice collected his own feathers—one for each coup claimed and one for each successful raid participated in. After his first four notable deeds had drawn the attention of the ţékniwap class, he was nominated for ceremonial distinction. The special tipi was raised and the warriors sat as before. The candidate was invited to come to the meeting by the announcer. He sat beside the chief and was told the duties and dangers of a war leader. Then he smoked before the chief gave him four feathers from the tail of the eagle. "From that point on his rank is raised." But he did not yet wear his feathers; they were carefully hoarded until by forty-eight coups he had stripped the tails of four eagles. The feathers were then made into a war bonnet. In a second and more important ceremony it was conferred upon the fighter. He was thereafter considered ţékniwap, a true war chief.

Friends could help a comrade along by transferring to him war honors which were theirs by right. Nothing could more clearly attest both the legal and the property aspects of accorded honor-claims. The gracious act was not unusual. It was done in public in order that the recipient's right to the honor would be witnessed and duly recognized. It was considered best if the giver of the honors announced a dance, inviting all members of the band to be there. At the end of a dance the host called for a halt. Then he walked to the center of the dance ring. There, in the presence of all people, he swore before the Sun and the Earth, who had witnessed the killing of the enemy, that the deed was his. He concluded by saying, "I now give this to my brother, ————————." The man named then stood and claimed the deed, with the following words, "I now take this deed. Sun, Father, Moon above, and Earth, Mother, witness ye that it is mine. *I* killed this man." The drum was struck a resounding blow. Turning to the people, he then called upon them to recognize his coup, and the transfer was complete.

But the transfer of war honors had a wise limitation. They could be neither sold nor inherited. They might be bestowed only as a gift, in the above manner. They were given only to brave men to help them towards the war leader status, or to a peace chief who had no war honors.[10]

Even in bands in which formal installation was established, there was also a much less official alternative open for attaining a war bonnet, though of a lower order. This was the buffalo scalp hat, which could be worn by a

[10] Professor Ralph Linton suggests that this practice may have emerged only since the advent of reservation days, when the restrictions upon fighting, imposed by the whites, made the coup a commodity of scarcity, so that the ingenious Comanche devised the technique here described. We are unable to pass upon the question of the specific antiquity of the custom.

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624 554 brave man who was not necessarily a war chief. It, too, was decorated with a row of eagle feathers. These had the breast feathers tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head.

554 431 In the Buffalo Eaters band such a bonnet was assumed by any brave who felt worthy of wearing one. There was definitely no ceremonial bestowal. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man, who possessed such a bonnet, says that sometimes it was the gift of friends to a brave man. One friend might suggest it to another with the result that they would gather up the feathers. A woman made them into a scalp bonnet, after which it was presented by them to the mutual friend as a token of esteem.

554 The acceptance of a buffalo scalp bonnet was a serious matter. People watched a man who took one to see if he was really worthy in his next battles. Failure meant ridicule and disgrace. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man could have risen to the rank of tɛ́kniwʌp. He did not, because he felt that he was not brave enough. And yet this man is one (the sole survivor) of the band of six who entered the fortified corral at Fort Sill sixty-nine years ago to drive out one hundred and twenty-one horses under the very noses of the guards without being detected! When the final capitulation to the whites was made, he hung his buffalo scalp bonnet in a tree, leaving it there never again to be worn. In his words, "A man who has surrendered his freedon is not fit to wear such an honorable badge." In the old days, it was the practice upon the death of a chief to hang his bonnet in a tree where it could not be seen, so to allow it to waste away.

626 Women among the Comanches were also privileged to bestow war bonnets upon "deserving" fighters. But it was a hat which rested uncomfortably upon the head of the receiver. Braggarts, whose words spoke louder than their deeds, were neatly handled by the plotting, sniggering females. They made him a war bonnet in secret (if we only knew what kind!). When the moment was ripe, they made a public presentation with such words as these. "Here, you're such a brave fellow. You ought to be a tɛ́kniwʌp. Surely, anyone as brave as you ought to be without fear in the face of the enemy. Yes, you deserve a war bonnet. Now it is yours to wear."

So what was Talking Bigger Than His Deeds to do? He had to live up to the obligations of that war hat, or lose it and become an "elder sister." There was a sanction!

554 701 A most special type of war bonnet was the Crow Feather Tassel (haimudya).[11] The Crow Feather Tassel was made of five feathers clipped short

[11] The details of the haimudya complex are from information obtained by Dr. Mirsky.

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except for one large one which was trimmed to scalloped edges. The wearers prepared their own emblem under the tutelage of a man who possessed one. They put a tassel on their left shoulder and one in their hair, taking the Crow Tassel pledge to dedicate themselves to unceasing war. There were never many such—two to four fighters in each generation. Men of two distinct backgrounds took this road of life. There were those who had the family tradition, and those who had no surviving family. For the latter the career of the Tassel-wearer was the road to death or tribal prestige. They had little to lose and much to gain. For the former it was the means of keeping high a family reputation.[12] It was the peak of all men's war activities.

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The few Crow Tassel Wearers formed an intimate association. They ran in their own lonely pack. By their way of life they could not spend more than one night at any time in the camp with their people. "They were gone and gone and gone—so long that Red Young Man, who had been a young man when he first went, was now middle-aged." War was their business. If they were approaching camp ay any time, should they meet a war party on the out-path, they turned their steps—again to the enemy.

An excellent history of a group of Crow Tassel Wearers among the Comanches was given to Dr. Mirsky. Part of it follows:

Case 2. History of Crow Tassel Wearers
Informant: Talker

"While they (the Crow Tassel Wearers) had been gone all these years Red Young Man's father had died. His mother and grandmother (kaku) were living. None of the party was married. As they came to the camp look-out, this man told Red Young Man that his father had died not a year since. Because of this the men cancelled their plans to parade; they entered the camp quietly—without fanfare or pomp.

"That night his friends, the Tassel Wearers, came to see him in his tipi. They mourned and wailed with him for his father. When they had ceased crying, his mother spoke, 'Now that I can see you, it makes my heart heavy that you have taken up this role. I have not seen you for many years. You were young; now you are a grown man. And I hope you will agree to what I propose.' Therewith, she begged him no longer to wear his emblem of the Crow Feather Tassel. Would he honor her wishes? 'You have put in time enough to have had your fill of it,' the mother urged.

Our informants spoke vaguely of certain men who went continuously to war, who were a "stage beyond the war bonnet." We found no one who could give us facts, however.

[12] It reminds one of those American lineages who glory in a record of participation in every war of our country's history.

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"Red Young Man turned to his friends and said, 'You have heard the request of my mother. To it I now agree. After you eat—all of you—bring your fathers here.'

"They did as he asked; they brought their fathers to his tipi. Red Young Man said to the fathers, 'You are all familiar with what we have been doing—you know our rules. Look upon us all! My father did not live to see me. I missed him. I have called you here because I have something to say to you. I entered this order when I was young, when I was without ties. These friends joined me under the same circumstances.'

"A father said, 'You speak truly.'

"In this group of young men was Red Young Man's nephew (aza), whose father was Red Young Man's brother-in-law (tcts). The brother-in-law said, 'My wife's brother, you have been in this from your youth; now you are of middle-age. Even so is your nephew, my son. I speak as your mother spoke. I wish both of you would discontinue this. This is my opinion and desire.'

"The father of one of the others agreed with the mother and the brother-in-law. The father of the youngest put in his word for it, too—'because we are so happy to have you back after so many years.'

"Then Red Young Man said to the fathers, 'Today, at this very instant you finish with us, we will take off our tassels. We will disband forever. Before we come to that I wish that you well-seasoned men of wise counsel would give us your advice and blessing. That is all. Let us fill our pipe.'

[788] "They filled the pipe to bless the dissolving of the band. There was silence as the pipe was lit. The brother-in-law took the pipe; he presented it to Sun, the Father and to Earth, the Mother. 'Accept this, Father,' he said, 'today in a few moments these young men shall be broken asunder.' He passed the pipe to the next father who did the same and said the same. Then to the third father. He finished the prayer with these words, 'They have devoted their whole youth to this cause. Now that they are middle-aged they are going to lead a quiet, stay-at-home life.' They did not pass the pipe to the mother—but she spoke and voiced her happiness at the outcome of the decision.

"Red Young Man spoke again, 'We have come to dissolve,' He speared out a black kerchief. 'We are going to take the tassels from our shoulder and our head.' He prayed. He prayed, saying how in his youth he had followed the dictates of his heart—a Crow Feather Tassel Wearer. He had lived alone without regard to family ties. The Great Power Which Pervades All Things be his witness! By taking off the emblem he was now ready to devote himself to family obligations.

"He then called his nephew. 'We started out with only one thought, you and I: that we would be killed together. I, who put this emblem on you, now take it off.'

"Then he called the older friend to do the same with him. At last he called the younger one. 'Behold our younger brother (tâmi), who tirelessly performed all the duties we placed on him! You be witness that I take from him his emblem.' All the tassels were laid on the kerchief.

"When night came the obligations were done. Then Red Young Man tied up the kerchief. He said to the father, 'Tomorrow we do what we have not yet done

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with you: we will stay with you all the day and for the rest of our lives. By morning everyone will know what has transpired.' He took the bundle with the Crow Tassels and put it by his bed. 554 701

"He started out next morning from the tipi carrying the bundle. You never bury anything of which part is a feather. You return it to a tree and tie it there. Thus was ended Red Young Man's war career.

"Red Young Man never again went with a war party. He became a camp-moving peace chief; he confined himself to his home duties. When he took off his tassel and put on his war bonnet, he became the highest war chief. When visiting tribes came to call, everyone would hold their breath when Red Young Man counted coup. He was the pride of the band.

"As time went on, he finally married. He married his own niece, his sister's daughter. Though he was so very great and so important, he did not escape being slightingly referred to as 'niece-wife.' The talk was that that wife had been loose before he married her, so he married her to make her behave. She was young and pretty. It was her first marriage and they had children." [582]

In this practice the social ideal was exaggerated to social negation. The Crow Tassel Men pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were no longer of the larger society. Thus during the period of their calling they were of little significance in civil affairs. Yet when years of success without death, or the death of one of their membership, caused them to dissolve the band of special comradeship and warlike duty, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige. 554

The Crazy Dogs and the Big Horse Owners were also limited groups among the Comanches. The Crazy Dogs arrived at their state by an intrinsic waywardness in personality. The Big Horse Owners chose their road as a way of life for much the same reasons as motivated the Crow Tassel Wearers.[13] "I might make many errors and fall down many times," said Black Horse on taking up the insignia of the Big Horse. "I shall take my father's road, and maybe I'll come out a somebody." 701

The Crazy Dogs were contraries. They did everything backwards. Tell them to bring water, and they would fetch fire. She Invites Her Relatives told of a widow who lamented her lot and her lack of a buffalo robe. A Crazy Dog heard her. He told the old woman to hold her peace; he would get her a robe. When he returned to camp he brought with him the skin of a flayed enemy. This he hung from a pole before the widow's door. Such men were a great nuisance. They urinated like dogs. Going about the camp they could 701 158

[13] It is difficult now to distinguish what traits belonged to the Contrary Men and what to the Big Horse Owners. Among them were a gourd rattle as insignia and a slit sash worn over the shoulder. In attack the sash was pegged to the ground, so that the wearer could not retreat unless released by another Comanche.

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701 158 shoot an arrow into anybody's pot of meat, taking whatever piece stuck to the shaft.

Parents warned boys who were constantly recalcitrant that they would become such. Most Crazy Dogs started out as wayward youths.

Such men carried on as Dogs until after the performance of some conspicuous act of bravery. After many years of Crazy Dog activity, their rattles were taken from them by a respectable middle-aged man (ɬénapa). [555] "They had attained prestige and could leave off their antics." By their war records ex-Crazy Dogs were always men of importance in the tribe.

624 ●554 It is clear from these facts that the war bonnet and other special insignia served a definite social function in Comanche society; they marked the status of the war chief as distinct from that of the lesser war leader, and the special devotees of the war cult from the common warrior.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE WAR BONNET WEARER

554 726 The Comanche owner of a war bonnet was under obligation never to retreat. This was the primary duty assumed with the status. The bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanche, to be protected at all costs. The mere fact that the wearer could not retreat made him a rallying point for all other fighters when he was hard-pressed, for it was equally disgraceful for the bonnet to fall into the hands of the enemy should the wearer be wounded or killed. The war bonnet wearer, dismounted and hard-pressed, could indeed be rescued by a fellow tribesman who dared to risk dashing in to carry the brave off on his horse. This was the sole escape with honor. In one fierce three-day battle with the Utes, a Comanche war chief was so wounded in the leg that he was having difficulty. Another ɬékniwʌp mounted behind him and held him in his place on the horse while he fought off the enemy. The Utes forced the Comanches back and ever back over a battle-field sixty-five miles long. When, during the action, the wounded war chief died, he was tied to the saddle by his protector to avoid his being captured with his bonnet. During the entire fight his body and its protector were screened by a group of fighting braves.

558 On the other hand, it was the absolute duty of a ɬékniwʌp to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and take the war bonnet from him in punishment. The accuser was then free to offer it to some other warrior whom he thought deserved it.[14] But this man was also free to refuse if he feared the obligations attached to it. This was said

[14] Compare also the case cited on page 55, where a claimant to a piece of land (on the reservation) had the judgment go against him because he had one time failed to rescue a comrade.

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pipe. When the time for smoking had arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. In the light of its blaze he filled the pipe. The next step was invocation. Holding the pipe to the sky, offering was made to the Sun. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground—an offering to the Earth. If at any stage of this process the silence was broken, it was necessary to make a fresh start by dumping all the tobacco from the pipe out on the ground and starting anew. Informants did not know of any consequences being visited upon the breaker of the tabu. When finally the pipe was prepared, the fire-tender crossed directly over to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the old men could lapse into their round of conversation. The pipe was passed among them and carefully smoked until it was burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they broke up for the night. The fire-tender made first exit through the door. The others followed after in procession, all treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make non-ceremonial exit from either side of the door.

The talk turned on matters both amusing and serious; the old men were eclectic in their interests. On occasion they made an amusing turn on such coup-counting bouts as Grinnell reports for the Cheyenne.

> . . . the two bands were ranged on opposite sides of the lodge, facing each other . . . When all were ready to begin, he (the umpire) passed a counter to the man sitting at one end of the line. The counter passed from hand to hand until it reached one who had done this thing, when he narrated the circumstances, perhaps mentioning the name of some witness to the deed. . . .
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> . . . When the coup had been related, the stick which had been passed for it was returned to the umpire, who thrust it in the ground with his right or left hand, according as the winning was by the party to his right or left. . . . Whichever side had the most sticks received a feast the next day from the losing side.[9]

The old Comanches, too, held meetings to decide supremacy among them. A handful of straws served for tally. Straw by straw, the old stags put in the evening asking each other questions of dishonorable or evil-scented nature. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the war path without meeting the enemy?" was another favorite. Or, "How many times did you take a woman on a war party?" And so on into the night. This interesting game is unquestionably a travesty on coup-counting bouts of the Plains Warrior Societies. The

[9] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, vol. 1, pp. 78–79.

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The principle of "soak the rich" was also a practice of Comanche law. Damages were scaled partly in accordance with the wealth of the offender. There was no feeling that a rich man *ought* to pay more. It was just that he could, and the Comanche prosecutor stuck the defendant for whatever he could squeeze.

Damages usually sought were horses. Blankets, guns, saddles, clothing, robes or any other article of personal property *except medicine powers and related paraphernalia* were frequently asked for in addition. The horse, however, remained the basic consideration. For adultery or wife-absconding, from one to ten horses were transferred, seldom more. Special pains were often taken to specify the horse or horses demanded by the aggrieved, and quite frequently the demand was for what both punished and humiliated: the favorite horse of the defendant. No matter how many horses the defendant might offer which were just as good, a prosecutor would be adamant in his demand that the favorite be delivered over to him. Such horses were favored by the owner for qualities of grace, speed and stamina, or just as often because the animal had been the gift of a beloved friend. Old men today in reminiscent thought will say that in the old days a warrior ofttimes loved his horse more than his wife, or child, or any other human being. It is in the light of this that the demand for a favorite horse indicates that such damages—indeed, any damages—are more than mere economic compensation. As the wronged man suffered a spiritual hurt, so must the guilty party suffer a spiritual loss. Thus, damages collected were in part damage done to [558] the wrong-doer's "face."

The *beau geste* which crops up in so many cases is simply another indication of this point. The magnificent and haughty slaying of horses given, or due, in damages was no act of economic nature. This fine disdain indicates a psychological satisfaction more precious than the mere reception of wealth in payment of a wrong.

Doubly, therefore, was bargaining tense, with pride and punishment playing upon the economic factors. The jockeying and sparring of the bargain, with some of the imponderabilia of impinging attitudes are strikingly revealed in the following typical case.

Case 9. Levirate Claim: Mexican vs. Breaks Something
Informant: Breaks Something

"Mexican was a friend of Touched With A Closed Fist. They called each other brother. When Touched With A Closed Fist died a long time ago, Mexican went to claim the widow for his wife. That was Woman. Woman didn't want to live with him, so she came to me.

"We were living down at Red Store when one day two men came to see me.

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The institutionalized champion we see as a purely social device. None of the ordinary inducements used to lead a person to assume a difficult obligation or responsibility were operative for him. Unlike kin or friends, he received no material compensation for his pains. This is borne out both by the word of the informants and by the evidence of the cases. Nor did the principle of reciprocity of services operate for him. Men chosen to act as champion were always warriors of great renown. They could look to themselves; they had no need to ask for return of favors. It was a sense of *noblesse oblige* and self-esteem which forced the champion into the legal lists on behalf of weaker persons to whom he had no personal ties. A war leader who refused to accept the request for aid in prosecution was to be deemed unworthy of his rank, for it was imputed that he feared the defendant. No war leader could admit fear. The institutional capitalization of these factors for the legal protection of the weak is an amazing piece of social engineering.[16]

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[16] One has only to contrast the Roman *patronus* and early medieval infeudation of free land. Those "muscle men" exacted pay for protection as does a modern gangster. No matter that it was not with money. For favorable comparison to the Comanche consider the Ifugao *monkalun*, or Icelandic *lawman*.

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Each of these functionaries was reponsible to both parties in dispute, though the *monkalun* was evoked by the plaintiff. He (the *monkalun*) was at most a distant relative to the litigants. He was a *kadangyang* (man of wealth belonging to the first rank of society) and a man with a head-hunting reputation, as well as a successful settler of disputes. His method was suasion, threat, wheedling, scolding, according to the arts of fine diplomacy. He worked between the disputants (they keeping rigidly from each other's sight) until he could bring them to stand on a plank of settlement acceptable to both. For his pains he received payment in pigs or other commodity from the plaintiff. This was compensation for his efforts, but as Barton tells us, the main drive which spurred him to work for a peaceful settlement was the desire to build his reputation as a mediator. As in Comanche society the true reward was prestige. The *monkalun*, like the Comanche intermediary, was ready to fall back on force if need be. But he did not stand so ready with knife in hand. When he felt that he had exhausted his ability to bring the parties to a settlement, he declared a truce of a month's duration. Whichever party broke the truce by an act of violence had the *monkalun* and his family to reckon with in addition to his adversary. Thus the *monkalun* fell on either side if process degenerated to force, while the Comanche mediator always stood by his protege. R. F. Barton, *Ifugao Law*, (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 15, 1919), pp. 97 ff.

The Icelandic *lawman* presents a similar comparison. A plaintiff lodged suit by airing his grievance before all men on the Hill of Laws at the Thing, or in-gathering of citizens. The attempt was made to bring both parties to agree to accept whatever judgment might be given by a selected *lawman* or a council of his ilk. The alternative (legally) was wager of battle on the *Isle*. Outside of these legal paths were strife and murder. The *lawmen* derived honor and prestige for their efforts and seem also to have been feed in a modest way.

("After that men went away, and all thought things looked like the greatest tangle . . .

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In action the champion was not an arbitrator. It was not his purpose to serve as a go-between. He went to demand damages. The bare fact is that he confronted the defendant as a "tough guy" who could take as well as give it. He was ready, if need be, to close the matter, not with damage settlements, but with physical combat.

It is in the champion that we can see most clearly the social policy of balancing the opposing forces so as to clear the way for a bargain settlement. This phase of the Comanche legal system is therefore to be viewed as a not so badly balanced mechanism, which operated without the organization of government. Making certain that action was taken when an offense was made publicly known, it made possible a sort of justice by assuring that the guilty and the wronged parties were placed on a bargaining level.

There were no officials in the picture. The peace chief could not act in damage suits, because he had no social authority to do so. As an old and gentle man he lacked the physical prowess to enter an affair in a personal capacity. The champions who participated in actions, because they were the bravest men, were also war chiefs. But the role of champion which they played was a function of their bravery, not of their rank as a chief.

It is possible that if the evolution of Comanche society had continued under aboriginal conditions, the war chief would have taken on the police functions for the society, and have become, thereby, the administrator of justice.

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but Hall went to Thorgier, the priest of Lightwater, who was the old Speaker of the Law, and gave him three marks of silver to utter what the law should be." . . . "This was no bribe, but his lawful fee.")

But Eyolf Bolverk's son was sued to be condemned to lesser outlawry for having received a gold armlet to press Flosi's defense before the Althing. Flosi was given the same sentence for giving the trinket as an inducement. G. W. Dasant, *The Story of Burnt Njal* (A translation from the Icelandic Njal Sagen, New York, 1911), pp. 184 and 283.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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361 acquainted, and a description of it in this place will suffice for all. It consisted, I should say, of four hundred tents, and covered a space of six or seven acres. In the center of the village was a capacious square, perhaps one acre, and in the center of the square stood a lodge, the largest in the town, being the business tent of the civil chief. Around the square the wigwams were arranged with great particularity. Leading into it on the four sides were regularly laid out streets, the tents standing in line on both sides. Those of
● [354] the principal men were the largest, and fronted the square; those of their inferiors, according to their rank, diminishing in size, and extending backwards.

342 The tents are constructed of prepared buffalo skins, the flesh side outward, and, from a distance, an Indian town like this, to the eye of a white man, is novel and attractive. The manner of their construction is as follows: Poles, from ten to twenty feet in length, are driven diagonally into the ground in the line of a circle, at the distance of three or four feet from each other, and at such an angle that their tops will nearly meet. These poles serve the purpose of rafters over which the buffalo hides, firmly sewed together, are drawn and fastened by stakes on the ground, thus forming an impervious cone. The door does not turn on hinges, but is simply an extra pelt, fastened at the top, with a heavy weight at the bottom, and which, when raised or turned aside sufficiently to admit an entrance within, falls directly and closely to its place. Around the outside is dug a narrow and deep ditch, rendering the floor dry and hard,
[354] and the smoke of the fire, which is always kindled in the center of the wigwam, escapes through a hole at the apex.

361 These villages are always located near running water, and in thinly timbered groves, which break the force of the

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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The Chief and His Household

Modern improvements have not been carried so far among 797
them as to furnish the convenience of bells, such as are 595
used to call waiters in our fashionable hotels, but as a substitute mine host of the wigwam had tied a deerskin cord [202]
to the corner of each of his wive's buffalo mattresses, the [513]
other end extending under the canvas into his own tent, thus rendering only a slight twitch necessary to communicate intelligence their presence was required. It was their duty to attend him, come at his call and go at his bidding, standing towards him as much in the relation of slaves as of wives.

He was the civil chief as distinguished from the war chief, 622
and consequently the head of the tribe. This dignity carried with it the privilege of possessing four wives, a common [554]
Indian being allowed to have but one, subordinate officers [595]
two, and the war chief three. His name was Osolo, which, translated into Anglo Saxon, signifies "the Big Wolf." He [551]
had eight children, four of whom still remained in their mothers' tents, two had grown to manhood and taken [591]
wives to themselves, while two daughters had likewise left the paternal wigwam for the matrimonial lodge.

I had an opportunity now of observing their manner of 252
preparing and partaking breakfast, which certainly was not attended with an extraordinary ceremony or display. Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horseflesh was attached to the end of a stick, some four feet in length, by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood-red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and [415]
served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then 000

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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727 solemnly obligated himself, in case I did, to make a skele-
675 ton of me in the shortest possible space of time, according to the Indian statutes in such case made and provided.

727 Though closely observed, and confined within certain limits, like one out on bail in the old times of imprisonment for debt, I now enjoyed comparative freedom; and as day after day and week after week passed wearily away, had opportunities of observing their habits, customs, and peculiarities, and to become thoroughly conversant with life in a Comanche camp.

727 As before stated, the sole business of the male portion
701 of the tribe was war and hunting. While in camp the Indian is idle, listless, sleeping the greater part of the day and all night. He is slovenly in his dress, except when he meets in council or goes on the war path, when he decorates himself with the scalps he has taken, which at other
727 times hang in his tent. His prowess as a warrior is estimated
701 in proportion to the number he possesses.
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The most renowned brave in the camp of the Big Wolf—he who could boast the possession of the greatest number of these trophies—was *Hawakakeno*, the Wide River. He was, indeed, a brawny and powerful savage, terrible in battle and quarrelsome in the village. He was feared as well as admired; his word was law among his weaker brethren, and none of all his tribe could stand before him in single contest.

224 To supply the necessaries of life, more or less are con-
492 strained daily to go out upon the hunt. In this, their only labor, they range within a circuit rarely extending more than four or five miles from the town. Their weapons, on these excursions, are the bow and arrow and the lance, both of which they use with great dexterity and skill, especially on horseback. Indeed, in the matter of horsemanship, I

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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fringe on sleeves and hems and colorfully beaded designs marked the dress of fashion. The dressmaker carefully worked the skins of the deer until they were soft and pliable—sometimes a muted lemon yellow and sometimes a buff color. The skirt was made in two pieces, with the legs of the deer skin making an uneven hemline reaching to the ankles. The skirt was sewed up the sides with buckskin thongs, and heavy fringe finished the hem and extended up the sides above the knees, with lighter fringe up the seams to the waist. The slightly flared skirt was broken above the knee by a narrow band of beading with long pieces of fringe at intervals below the beading. A scalloped band of narrow beading was attached just above the hem. The blouse was made poncho-style from the skin of a single animal. A slit was cut horizontally in the center, creating a high, straight neckline, which was brilliantly banded with beading extending across the shoulders to the elbow-length sleeves. Blouse and skirt were laced together at the waist with buckskin thongs, hidden beneath an ornamental skin peplum hanging in deep points to mid-thigh. Geometric medallions were beaded across the peplum in a band, and medallions of varied size and color were sewed across the front and back of the blouse. Just below these brilliant designs and continuing across the blouse were clusters of round beads, from which hung long leather and beaded thongs. A wide butterfly sleeve was formed by the loose ends of the skin. Colorful beads were scattered along the edge of the deep fringe line which finished the sleeves. Additional skin bands hung from the front and back of the sleeves, the fringed ends extending below the long, heavy fringing of the sleeves.[31]

The number-one wives of brave warriors wore an additional special decorative device, according to She Invites Her Relatives. A tongue-like appendage hung down from the neck, front and back. In the front it was fringed, while the back tongue, which was unedged, carried a painted symbol ⌋ in dark blue for each war honor of her husband.

The costume was completed by beautiful beaded moccasins. In winter highly ornamented leggings were worn to the knees, with only a knee-length buckskin dress above. In very cold weather the woman added a buffalo robe for warmth. The dress was comfortable

[31] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 342; museum specimens.

The Comanches

411 A shield with power not only gave its owner the general protective influence due to its sacred character, but also endowed him with those qualities attributed to heavenly bodies, birds, mammals, and other living creatures from whom the design-giving vision came. It also might afford protection from the elements, for some shields were sacred to thunder and lightning.

411 The lance was another favorite weapon of certain Comanches. The use of the war lance has been associated with the horse, but it is evident that the tribes who came to occupy the plains in historic times were acquainted with the stone-headed lance as a hunting implement before they entered the plains. Two types of lances were used by the Comanches. One was a hooked lance, so called because the shaft was bent somewhat in the shape of the conventional shepherd's crook. The other was the ordinary lance, six to seven feet in length. It had a wooden shaft of bois d'arc armed in modern times with an iron or steel point in any shape which was convenient and easily made from the material at hand. Some lance heads were as much as thirty inches long by one inch wide, tapering to a point at the end away from the shaft. Previous to the acquisition of metal, the lance head was of chipped stone, often leaf-shaped. In either case, the head was bound to the shaft with sinew of rawhide thongs and glue in much the same way that the arrow point was bound to the shaft. The shafts of old-time spears were decorated only by a feather or a bunch of feathers attached near the butt end. Beaded shafts like the one on Quanah Parker's spear were a late fashion. Sheaths, which might or might not be decorated, were sometimes made for lances.

411 The battle spear was not a weapon for any ordinary man to carry. It was never hurled javelin-wise but was always thrust from under
● 554 the arm. If thrust overarm, it might hit a bone and break the point or frighten the rider's horse, according to Breaks Something. Only a brave man carried a spear, because it meant hand-to-hand combat. More than this, a spear carrier could never retreat and live to face his fellow warriors. There was no alternative for him but victory or death. In Breaks Something's opinion, the war lance ranked higher as a symbol of a war chief than any headdress, and warriors who carried the spear went without a war bonnet. His own brother, after the Battle of Adobe Walls, gave up his spear, and all his family was glad.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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"A spear is a big responsibility." A warrior returning from a successful raiding party set his lance upright before the door of his lodge with the scalps of his victims dangling from it. No one except the owner could remove the trophies.[21] As in the case of the shield, tradition records that some lances had power, and the lance carried by the leaders was a characteristic sign of office.

The Talley Sheet of Governor Anza reveals five Comanche groups, the leader of each having a lance which represented the rank of his group.[22] Robert H. Lowie asserts that the major difference in the several societies lay in the dances prior to assembling a war party and that each society had a lance and shield symbolical of a very definite position.[23] There is a possibility that straight lances may have been carried by one rank and hooked lances by another, but there seems to be no definite pattern. Both straight and hooked lances were carried with point upward.

Another weapon used by the Comanches was the war club or battle axe, called *wɜpitapu'ni*. Made of a flint stone weighing about two pounds, it was about six inches long and three inches wide on one end, tapering off to a width of from one to two inches on the other. Each end was thinned to a rough edge. The middle of the flint was grooved or thinned on either side to prevent it from slipping on the handle. The wooden handle was fourteen to sixteen inches in length and from one to one and one-half inches in diameter. One end was split, and into this incision the axe was inserted and fastened to the handle by thongs of green or wet rawhide wrapped around the flint and handle about half a dozen times. The ends of the rawhide were made fast by means of small wooden pegs passed through the rawhide and into the wooden handle. The rawhide contracted in drying and left the axe handle almost as firmly bound as a modern axe and handle. The battle axe served a number of purposes and at close range was a deadly weapon.

Despite their strenuous life, the Comanches found time for recreation and entertainment. Their diversions, like their industries, were

[21] Zoe A. Tilghman, *Quanah, The Eagle of the Comanches*, 16.

[22] Alfred B. Thomas, "An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXI (1929), 291–92.

[23] *Ibid.*, 293–95, quoting R. H. Lowie, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XX (1924), 283.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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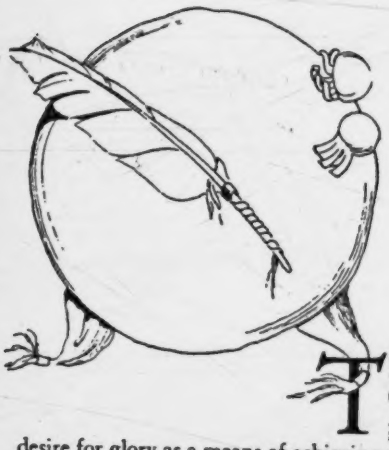
Warfare



THE motives which led the Comanches to go to war were plunder, love of fighting, a desire for glory as a means of achieving personal status, eagerness for revenge, and a determination to take and afterwards to hold free from all trespassers, both white and red men, the hunting grounds of the South Plains. Their bravery and their desire to win prestige for themselves inspired them to take many risks. Prior to the introduction of the horse, Plains warfare was sporadic and not bloody; but the introduction of the horse furnished all the Plains tribes a new and strong motive for war, for by war men might acquire something of great value and they now had the mobility with which to strike at each other. Concomitantly with the horse came another new factor: the pressure of the whites on the eastern frontier, setting in motion a chain reaction of tribal displacements that caused group after group to fight for a place under the western sun. War became the pattern of life; the military cult became the ideal of the aspiring young man. The old peace chief ideal still survived, but it was destined to be overshadowed by the ideal personality type of warrior.

War honors provided the basis of the whole system of rank and social status in Comanche society. Consequently, the life of the male came to be centered around warfare and raiding. The men were all warriors. War was regarded as the noblest of pursuits, one which every man should follow; and from earliest youth boys were taught

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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to excel in it. They were taught that success in war brought in its train the respect and admiration of the men, women, and children of the tribe, and that the most worthy virtue for a man was bravery. They were taught that death in battle, aside from being glorious, protected one from all the miseries which threatened later life and were inevitable to old age.

The Comanches, in conformity with the general Plains pattern, adhered to institutionalized procedure in giving social recognition of war honors: the practice of counting coup. The coup was an individual exploit, made in any contact with the enemy, after it had been socially and publicly recognized as worthy of distinction. In some respects it was a rough equivalent of an official citation after a modern engagement. It required more bravery to hit an adversary with a spear or a war club than to pierce him at a distance with an arrow or a bullet. Since the quality most highly esteemed was courage, striking an enemy thus gave ground for an honored coup, while long-distance killing did not necessarily do so. To scalp an enemy was not especially creditable, for anyone could scalp a dead man; hence scalping was only of secondary importance. But if the scalping were done under danger, it was considered worthy. How much of the scalp a Comanche took depended upon circumstances. He preferred to take the whole scalp, but if he were pressed for time or the situation were very dangerous, he seized only what he could get. The scalp was a trophy, proof of success to be used in the Victory Dance, and it was also desirable as a decorative fringe for shirts, shields, and tomahawks.

The bravest act that could be performed was to count coup on a live enemy. When hunting, if a dangerous animal was killed or wounded, boys and young men might race to see who could be the first to touch it, just as women sometimes raced to see who could be the first to touch the first fallen animal in a buffalo hunt. The stealing of tethered horses from within a hostile camp ranked as a very high honor, but it was not so valued as striking a fallen enemy who lay near his own lines or as drawing blood from an enemy in hand-to-hand combat. In addition to the standardized honors, any audacious deed performed against the enemy could be claimed as a coup by the Comanches.

Contemporary Comanches tell a tall tale of two warriors who

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went on a coup-seeking expedition to see which was the better man. They traveled until they came to a Ute camp.

"Tonight I'll go in to see what I can do," said one.

After dark, he drew his blanket over his head and sauntered into the Ute encampment. From within one of the lodges he heard the songs of a hand game in progress. Protected by his disguise, he walked right through the door to join the spectators. Nobody paid any attention to him. Casually and slowly moving about, he touched one after another of all the Utes in the lodge. When he had touched them all, he strolled out and rejoined his friend.

"He had counted coup on twenty enemies at one time. It was a great deed," said Post Oak Jim.

His friend was put to a real challenge. They traveled on, it is said, until late the next day they came to a lone ranch homestead.

"Tonight I'll go in to see what I can do," said the second Comanche. When the lights were out in the cabin, he crept forward. He entered the little house and found the rancher and his wife sleeping together in their bed. With all the stealth he would have used in untethering a picketed horse before the lodge of an enemy chief, he lifted the sleeping woman from the side of her unsuspecting husband. Without wakening her, he brought her to the side of his friend. Together they took her back to the main camp. The People said this was the greatest coup of all. No Comanche had ever done anything like that before!

It sometimes happened that a man, if he had been ill for long without hope of recovery or if some misfortune of such significance that he no longer wished to live had befallen him, determined to give his life by some daring act of bravery against the enemy. This was suicide, but a socially recognized way of ending one's life in a most honorable manner. He went out in one grand coup.

A daring exploit was not of itself in the strictest sense a coup. Rather it was the raw material for one. If unrecognized, the deed remained only a matter of individual memory, for only recognition in due "legal" form turned the deed into a coup. It often happened that an exploit claimed by an individual was unwitnessed, not believed, or claimed by one or more other warriors. The man who believed he had a right to claim a coup made a strong fight for recog-

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721 nition of his deed. Other than securing witnesses or presenting cir-
●554 cumstantial evidence in support of his claim, he might take a formal oath that what he claimed was true. It is evident that in the confusion of battle a man might believe himself entitled to honors claimed by others. At the first opportunity after the fight, the chief called the warriors together, preferably before they arrived at the main camp.[1] But the procedure varied from band to band and according to circumstances. One account has the leading warriors seat themselves in a semicircle. Near the opening of the circle was placed a buffalo hide. Some of the Indians danced to the beat of drums. A warrior rode into the circle, stopped suddenly, and plunged his spear in the buffalo hide. Music and dancing stopped, and the warrior under oath narrated in detail the circumstances connected with the deed which he claimed as a coup. When he had finished, he dismounted and joined his comrades in the semicircle, and the dancing and drumming were renewed. Then a second warrior was called upon. The same procedure was continued until each claimant for honors had told his story. Those seated in the semicircle either publicly recognized the deed as a coup or rejected the claim.

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A scout who was out alone sometimes ran unexpectedly into an enemy, perhaps killing or counting coup on one. In such a situation there was no one to witness his deed; it was necessary for him to attest its truth. If he was a member of the Water Horse band, he did so by taking the buffalo-chip oath. On returning to the band, he signaled that he had important news. Before entering the camp, he waited for all the warriors to assemble. They all lined up in a row behind three or four buffalo chips, which were stacked on end, tipi wise. When they were ready, the scout rode in and speared a chip for each man he had killed or struck. With each blow he cried, *"A:he!"* If he had counted no coup, he merely walked around the pile and then
[T17] scattered it as a sign that the news he was bringing was true. The false asseveration of a coup brought bad luck and death.

554 The Comanches recognized two coups struck on the same victim by different persons. Subsequent coups received no credit. The Cheyennes counted coup on an enemy three times, while the Arapahos touched four times. In battle, members of one tribe counted coup

[1] Informant: Yellowfish.

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without reference to what had been done by those of another allied tribe in the same fight. Recognition of plural coups on the same victim was, of course, an efficient way of providing enough coups to meet the cultural demands of the society. It is worth noting that the warlike Comanches engaged sufficient enemies to make unnecessary as great an inflation of the currency of war prestige as that of their neighboring tribes, but in later days they devised a method to spread their coups around. The first man to touch a fallen enemy with his weapon or hand uttered the cry, *"A:he"* ("I claim it"), thus receiving credit equal to or greater than that which accrued to the man who had done the actual killing. If a bow or a gun had been used to bring down the enemy, the second coup-counter received greater honor for his deed than did the slayer himself.[2]

Opinions are somewhat at variance as to why the Plains Indians counted coup. Robert Lowie emphasizes the play aspect of this phase of warfare. From one angle, he says, Plains Indian warfare "loomed as an exciting pastime played according to established rules, the danger lending zest to the game. The primary goal was to score, only the loss of kindred prompting reprisals on a major scale. Whenever men fight for glory, practical ends become secondary."[3] George Bird Grinnell sees in it a cultural survival of the old feeling that prevailed before the Indians had missiles, when they were obliged to fight hand-to-hand with sticks, clubs, and stones. Under such conditions only those who actually came to grips with the enemy could inflict injury and gain glory. "After arrows came into use," he continues, "it may still have been thought a braver and finer thing to meet the enemy hand-to-hand than to kill him with an arrow at a distance."[4] The game aspect and the survival elements are both a part of the complex, but more important is the functional adjustment of an institution to a social end. The deeds honored are in good part the kind of deeds that toughen a warrior to stand when he is needed, and the numberless opportunities afforded for coup-counters to boast of their exploits were strong ego builders and the sort of social device that could not but encourage men to fight and fight recklessly.

[2] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 22.

[3] R. H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, 222.

[4] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, II, 36.

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554 424 A coup was regarded as a type of incorporeal property, which could be transferred by the owner to a comrade in public ceremony. The practice may have emerged only since the advent of the reservation, when the restrictions upon fighting imposed by the whites made the coup a commodity of scarcity, so that the ingenious Comanches devised the transfer technique. It was done in public in order that the recipient's right to the honor would be witnessed and duly recognized. It was considered best if the giver of the honors announced a dance, inviting all members of the band to be present. After the dance had continued for a time, the host, walking to the center of the ring, called a halt. There, in the presence of all the people, he narrated the details of a coup, swearing to the powers that the deed was his, and concluded by saying, "I now give this to my brother, ———." The man named then stood and claimed the deed, with the following words, "I now take this deed. Sun, Father, Moon above, and Earth, Mother, witness that it is mine." The drum was struck a resounding blow. If those present gave their assent, the transfer of the coup was complete. The coup was bestowed only upon brave men; it could be neither sold nor inherited.[5]

721 The prosecution of warfare was a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war or raiding party, for there was no legal authority to restrain him. Although a vision was not deemed necessary as a sanction for starting a war party, it was in many cases the effective stimulus. Should a man inexperienced in warfare and without an established reputation attempt to organize and lead a party, he would be unlikely to secure a following. A young warrior was usually content to serve under others until he had gained experience. He must know when and how to attack and how to retreat without loss of men when the fighting went against him. On the other hand, a man whose qualities of bravery and leadership had been demonstrated in combat seldom found any difficulty in mustering a following when he announced his intention to go on the warpath. Nobody would risk leading a party without power. He may have received it through a vision or a dream. When a man declared that he knew how, he certainly felt that he did, else he would be afraid to say so. It was for each individual to determine for himself whether his own and the leader's power was working for success.

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727 535 then the brave was excused, and the whip owner had to dance himself.

On the fourth day of *Mʌmɜkə's* Brush Dance in 1933 Ralph Linton was adopted into the tribe. In a simple ceremony his war record (World War I) was praised and he was named *Ekakuta,* Red Buffalo, the buffalo who had so much power that he had thrown the Comanche "witch" up to the moon with a toss of his horns. She can be seen there yet. And then in a touching tribute and climax *Pinedapoi,* the Whip Owner, stepped forward and, placing his whip in the hands of Ralph Linton, announced that he was relinquishing it to a younger and greater warrior.

In pre-reservation days successful raiders who reached the village with many horses sometimes gave a part or all of them away. A young man who was courting a girl might drive all his horses to her father's lodge and leave them there. A young warrior who had gained high distinction while on the warpath was likely to be serenaded upon his return. On the morning after the Scalp or Victory Dance, young maidens of the camp dressed like warriors. They congregated before the young man's tipi to do the Shakedown Dance and sing the songs. The boy and his father knew why they were there. They were paying honor to the young warrior, and it was customary to present gifts to the serenaders in return. The boy's father, proud of his son's exploits, came out and gave horses to the girls. Later, when the boy had accumulated a supply of horses, he made the gifts himself.

701 554 Military fraternities did not become a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture to the extent that they did among other tribes of the plains. Most of the Comanche warrior groups appear to have been informal organizations compounded of mutual friendship and interests, and they were not continuous or permanent. Although not formally organized into an association, the wearers of full-feathered war bonnets formed a special class, called war leaders, similar to top-ranking military men in our own society in wartime.

The buffalo-scalp-bonnet wearers were of a lower order. The buffalo-scalp hat was decorated with a row of eagle feathers. The breast feathers were tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head. The bonnet was assumed and worn by any brave, not necessarily a chief,

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who felt worthy and desired to accept the responsibility it imposed upon the wearer. There was definitely no ceremonial bestowal. Usually the bonnet was made by friends of the warrior and presented to him as a token of esteem. The acceptance of a buffalo-scalp bonnet was a serious matter, for the people afterwards expected him to prove himself really worthy of their confidence. Failure meant ridicule and disgrace. After the surrender of the Comanches at Fort Sill, Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man hung his buffalo-scalp bonnet in a tree, never to wear it again. "A man who is beaten has no right to wear such a thing," he said.

Women sometimes made a war bonnet in secret to bestow upon a braggart whose words spoke louder than his deeds, and the presentation was made in public at an opportune moment. The recipient of such a war bonnet had to live up to the obligations of that war bonnet or else lose it and become an object of ridicule and scorn.

The Comanche war leader was under obligation never to retreat except under certain conditions which were well understood, and then only when the other warriors were safe first. He protected the rear as they retreated. The war bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanches to be protected at all costs, "just like the flag." The mere fact that he assumed such responsibility made the war leader a rallying point for all other fighters. The war-bonnet wearer could be rescued with honor by a fellow warrior who dared to dash in and carry him from the field. It was also the duty of a war leader to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and thereby cause him to lose his status and right to wear the war bonnet if judged guilty. If a war-bonnet wearer cast off his bonnet and fled, he lost his right to wear it, and all other men would address him as *paβi*, "elder sister." An aspirant brave who wished to obtain the status of war leader might immediately do so by dashing in and recovering the bonnet. He hung it on a bush and protected it all day in the face of the enemy. At sundown, if he charged the enemy four times, the bonnet and all its honors and obligations were his. The lower-rank bonnet could be picked up by any one who saw it and was willing to assume the obligations adhering thereto.

Young warriors who had not attained the rank of war-bonnet

The Comanches

Young warriors who had not attained the rank of war-bonnet wearers sometimes seem to have banded together into semi-military fraternities or dance groups. Among those noted in more or less descending popularity, according to informants, were the Crow, Shield, Big Pony (Big Horse), Little Horse (Little Pony), Fox, Buffalo, Gourd, and Drum. These groups seem, however, to have been limited to the northern bands. A youth was likely to join the group of his brother or father, but there was no obligation to do so. He made known his choice, and if the group was willing to accept him, he was admitted. There was keen rivalry among the dancers to secure members who gave evidence of becoming brave warriors. Sometimes the pipe was forced into their mouth. Members were somewhat like brothers. They went on the warpath together and helped bury and mourn a dead fellow member. They had their own distinguishing insignia, songs, and dances, which could not be used by anyone else. When a group sponsored a dance, none but members could attend, except by invitation. They had social get-togethers and held dances in the day or evening, but more frequently in the evening. Dances occurred more often immediately preceding the departure or following the return of a war party or at the time of the communal hunt. Both men and women took part in their social dances. The warrior groups also competed in athletic events, sports, and military exercises. When a member determined to lead a revenge or raiding party, he could usually rely on the support of his own group, but other warriors were welcome to join a party. And when a leader had the support of the majority of the members of his dance group, the War Dance was referred to by the name of his society.

There were minor differences in the purposes and interests of the several organizations, but in general they were much the same. All the members of the Shield group carried identical shields which had been inspired by a vision. The shields were sacred, and among the many requirements for handling them was the one that they could not be permitted to touch the ground. The sacred-shield bearer often found it essential to have a wife accompany him on the warpath to care for his shield.

The Crow Tassel Wearers wore a special type of war bonnet made of fine feathers clipped short except for one large one which was trimmed to scalloped edges. The wearers prepared their own emblem

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

under the tutelage of a man who possessed one, as in the case of the Shield group. They placed a tassel on their left shoulder and one in the hair, taking the Crow Tassel pledge to dedicate themselves to unceasing war. A man who had no surviving family or a man who had a family tradition with a fighting reputation to uphold might become a member. The members dedicated their lives to war. War was their business. They recognized no family ties of restraint. Loyalty to one another was a superior obligation. They fought and raided together as a unit. They pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were apart from the larger society. Yet they were free to dissolve the band when they so desired. If they had been successful, when they dissolved the band, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige.[28]

Among many of the Plains tribes there were "crazy" warriors who did everything backwards. The Cheyennes called them Contrary Ones; the Crow Indians, Crazy Dogs Wishing to Die. The Comanches, too, had a few of these men, called *pukutsi*.

Any man brave enough and desiring to do so could become a *pukutsi* on making up his mind, according to Frank Moeta. He carried a buffalo-scrotum rattle in his hand and would go about the camp singing, no matter what else might be going on. Everything he did was in inversion, but no one ever molested a *pukutsi*, because he was so recklessly brave.

He wore a long sash over his shoulder and rolled up under his arm. In battle, he rolled out his sash, stuck the free end into the ground with an arrow, and there took his stand. With bow in one hand and rattle in the other, he stood singing, tethered by his sash. He neither fought nor charged, but sang his songs until victory was won or death took him. Only a friend could come and free him. Should he give way in battle or release himself after the fight was done, the other warriors would taunt him in an attempt to egg him into an overt act against them so they could kill him.

There were not many of these men among the Comanches. Carrying Her Sunshade in all her long life knew only one. Of him she had the following story.

[28] Informant: Kills Something.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

upon the side of the horse thus making of the animal a perfect screen between themselves and an imaginary enemy. "In this wonderful condition," he relates, "he will hang whilst his horse is at fullest speed, carrying with him his bow and his shield, and also long lance of fourteen feet in length, all or either of which he will wield upon his enemy as he passes; rising and throwing his arrows over the horses' back, or with equal ease and equal success under the horse's neck." Finally the artist learned that a partial explanation of the marvel was in the fact that a short hair halter was passed under the neck of the horse and both ends tightly braided into the mane on the withers. Through this loop the young warrier ran his arm and thus secured an anchor and rest for the fore part of his body.[20]

Horses were naturally the only form of wealth available to the Comanches. They were both useful and easily moved and an Indian's wealth was measured by the number of horses he possessed. Their horses were of good, indifferent or poor quality, depending on the success a given band had had in recruiting their scrubby mustang herds with better bred animals taken from the Mexican or Anglo-American frontier. With these Indians horse-stealing was both a science and an art and no warrior's training was complete until he was proficient in this respect. At the camp on the Clear Fork, in 1854, previously referred to, one warrior carried a shield "Ornamented with a *human scalp*, a grizzly bear's claw and a mule's tail, significant of the brave warrior and successful hunter and horse-thief."[21] Chief Is-sa-keep, of a band of northern Comanches, once told Captain Marcy that his four sons were as fine young men as could be found, that they were a great comfort to him in his old age, "and could steal more horses than any other young men in his band."[22] The brave's best horse was always saved for the hunt or war party and the Indian had that love for their favorite steed that always characterizes good horsemen.

As is the case among most savage peoples, war was a normal condition with the Comanches. For instance if expediency dictated that there be peace between the Comanches and Osages, the Texas

20. North American Indians, II, 73-74.
21. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 195.
22. Exploration of the Red River, 97.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

extent of opposite sex, is considered to be one of the closest. It is often said that his brothers are more dear to a man than his wife, and this is given as the reason why a man shares his wife with his younger brothers in a polyandrous household. Men often leave their wives with their brothers when they go off on war-parties, and most people take it for granted that the brother will sleep with her during this time. Damage claims for wife stealing are practically never made upon brothers. It is a brother relationship to which the closest friends aspire, and they will often call each others' families by terms appropriate to this relation. Sisters, on the other hand, form the most desirable combination of wives if a man is to have several, for they get along better together than any other women, and are less likely to be jealous.

The oldest brother has much greater prestige than any of the others, unless he should be a complete coward and failure and have a spectacularly successful younger brother. His position is unique, for, unless he should die very young, his removal through death or moving away will not lead to the elevation of the next oldest brother to a position of special prestige. In this society of warriors, boys from puberty onward are always considered greatly superior to their sisters.

Relations between brothers and sisters are highly variable, and depend greatly upon the personalities of the individuals. The ideal picture is one of fondness and mutual help and kindness. Brothers bring their sisters horses when they return from raids, and will take their side and protect them in case of trouble; they frequently leave their wives with their sisters who will act as chaperones while they are away. A sister will care for her brother's horse when he comes in and perform many minor services for him; she may act as a messenger for an unmarried brother in arranging nocturnal trysts. But these and many other expressions of esteem and affection are only evident if they like each other.

The other side of the picture reveals the fact that the oldest sibling present is the boss of the others until they come of age. As the boys used to go out on war-parties as soon as they were old enough, this was usually an older sister. She frequently whipped her brothers as a disciplinary measure, and often delighted in teasing them in various more or less nasty ways. The word *ɨ'rɨ?aiwapɪ*, "slave," could be applied by an older sibling to a younger, though this was considered being particularly unpleasant, and nice children did not do it! It is significant that while it was presumably permissible, this appellation was rarely if ever used between siblings of the same sex. It is emphatically stated, incidentally, that this was never applied to cousins except as a joke.

Once a boy passed puberty, he usually went out on the warpath, and was therefore in imminent danger of being killed. For this reason, it is said, one should let him have his way in all things. The boys do not seem to have been beyond capitalizing on this, and could and occasionally would whip their sisters even after they were married. It was the brother, more than anyone else, who

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593
855 tion for the parents to make a munificent return gift, preferably with a horse, and for the child to give away the original gifts to less fortunate children. This child wore especially fine clothes, rarely had any work to do, was spoiled by everyone, could order his or her siblings and even parents around at will, was never forced into marriage, and was generally cock o' the walk. Such a child [595] was usually the offspring of the father's favorite wife (a wealthy man nearly always had several wives), so that jealousy usually was present among the other wives too, and they would neglect and annoy the favorite child whenever they thought they could get away with it. However, if the child were a boy, he would fairly soon start going off on war-parties, while a girl, not having her marriage arranged for the convenience of the parents, would probably marry [158] a man of some means and reputation, and move away also. It should be noted that favorite children never became *pu'ku'ci?*,[11] according to our informants.

Girls who were not favorites frequently had their marriages arranged for them by their fathers. While the girl was anxious to marry a glamorous warrior, the father preferred a poor but industrious man who would stay around the home and tend his stock for him, perhaps for two or three years or, with the inducement of additional daughters as rewards for good and continued service, [727] almost indefinitely. A captive (especially a Mexican) made the most dependent, [554] and hence reliable, son-in-law of all, though the lowered prestige of the resultant half-Comanche grandchildren was a deterrent to this practice.

597 Adoption of children was fairly common, especially for boys into families without any; in this case, they might become "favorite children." Proper [835] relationship terms for a son or daughter were applied; rigorous incest regulations did not hold with adopted children, but there was strong disapproval of marriage of adoptive siblings if they had been brought up together for a number of years. Close friends of sons might also be adopted when comparatively mature; marriage with them does not seem to have been so clearly outlawed though no cases are recorded. In connection with the early maturity and independence of boys, it is interesting to note that this type of adoption was considered to be solely a matter to be arranged between the boy and his prospective new family—his parents had no influence in the arrangements. There is some evidence that fairly immediate descendants of adopted children were, if possible, married to bona fide members of the family in order to get them more firmly grafted onto the family tree. While the fact that the child was not a blood relative was never forgotten, it appears that a person adopted into a family became practically as much a member of it as one born within it, and generally ceased using the old terms of relationship toward his original family,

[11] *pu'ku'ci?* were adults following institutionalized patterns of "silly" behavior. This behavior readily lends itself to at least superficial interpretation as an escape mechanism for maladjusted people. This term was also applied to "difficult" children, a separated usage, though of course related.

sitions designed to relate specific linguistic data to the social, cultural, and historical facts of which they are diagnostic.

7.1. On examination of the Comanche acculturation vocabulary as a whole it is quite evident that the preponderance of new terms are those for material aspects of White culture. While it cannot be assumed that Comanche knowledge of White culture is restricted to those traits for which the language provides unitary terms, this fact bespeaks greater familiarity with the tangibles of Western culture than with non-material traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of daily use tend to be the first part of one culture to be both presented to and accepted by another culture. Moreover, material culture does not necessarily require a spoken introduction to a borrowing people. Non-material or intellectual culture, on the other hand, is essentially transmitted through the medium of language, and such knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must necessarily be translated from one language into another through the good offices of one, a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is probably unrealistic to expect that any significant corpus of alien intellectual culture, especially that of an esoteric nature, will be incorporated into a borrowing culture or accommodated by its language unless it is espoused by some special class of persons such as scholars, priests, rulers, or artisans who occupy positions of some prestige or power. Status groups such as these were non-existent in Comanche culture, and it is significant that those Comanche most conversant with Western intellectual culture also know English best and use English in discussing these aspects of Western culture.

The words added to the vocabulary are almost entirely nominal forms. Adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, except as these may be derived from nominal forms, are conspicuously absent and words for abstract concepts such as science, government, machine, etc., are rare. The religious terminology

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874.

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt and to raid there was no means by which the men could attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen. Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medicine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying themselves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities.

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (3 Vols.; Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

ing to more than $166,000 had been made under the provisions of the act. By this means many of the young Comanches are being induced to utilize their allotments. The loans were being repaid on schedule in 1945.[26]

The government policy of making farmers of the Indians has not succeeded as well as might be desired. The Indians have not become farmers in great numbers, many preferring to lease their land rather than use it themselves. They cultivated little more than 10 per cent of the trust lands in 1945. The trust system is fast creating a new problem. With the increase in the number of heirs, the tracts become too small for economic efficiency. Consequently, the heirs tend to lease the land and divide the rentals. Yet, among the Comanches there are a number of excellent farmers. There should be more and more as young people, leaving public schools with training in vocational agriculture, seek to find a place in the new society.

In general, the economic condition of the Comanches in the early 1940's was good. The 1600 Indian families of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency for the fiscal year 1944 had an estimated total income of $2,452,897,[27] or about $1533 per family. Since there were no land or tax payments and likely only very small installments on home and improvements to deduct, the amount compared favorably with that of other rural families of the South and Southwest.

A fairly regular income extending over a period of years has enabled the Comanches to build and furnish comfortable homes, erect good barns, and to make other improvements. In 1876 the agency built homes for the leading chiefs who were friendly to the government. Although the owner of a new home may have camped in the yard and used the house to shelter his stock, he was proud of it for it enhanced his prestige. Children enjoyed whooping in the empty rooms

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26. Scott B. Moore (director Kiowa-Comanche Agency loans and farm loans) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

27. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945. The income for the year was broken down thus: farming, $491,470; leases, $830,800; social security assistance, $22,644; relief, $5,230; wages, $907,153 (1943); service men dependent allotments, $194,100; miscellaneous, $2,500.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

The husband may repudiate his wife or wives at any time, and take back his presents. The wife too, for some causes, may rebel against her tyrant lord, and leave off serving him. This course on the part of a Comanche wife, covers the husband with such disgrace that it can only be removed by killing someone—the first person he may happen to meet is made the victim. It nearly always happens that he first meets with his truant wife, or some near friend of hers, first after suffering the great disgrace, and, of course, he proceeds to slay her, or the vicarious relative.

IF THE COMANCHE can be said to live under any government, it may be set down as a radical democracy. The war chiefs are elected, on occasions of war, by the council of warriors. Their authority is only countenanced and their commands obeyed while hostilities continue. In peace, their authority is merely that derived from their wealth and prowess. The Comanches honor courage and skill in war, and the successful warrior is generally made a chief of some band. There is no unity in the tribe. Besides the seven sub-tribes into which they are divided, each of the seven is made up of small parties, each of which has a leader. In many respects the autonomy of the Comanche tribe differs from any other North American Indians. In most respects, the tribal government is very much the same as found among Xicarillo, Mescaleros, and other wandering Apaches, to which family it is claimed they are nearly related. But in two or three important particulars their method or system of government is entirely distinct from and wholly unlike that of any other people.

When a chief or prominent warrior wishes to organize a warlike expedition, he takes his yellow shield, puts on his eagle plumes, smears warpaint over his face, and assuming the weapons borne by warriors, he rides at a furious pace among the lodges, chanting his war-song as he goes. Any warrior who has taken two scalps may thus organize a marauding expedition, and no authority of chiefs or councils can prevent it. If there are warriors willing to join him they immediately mount their ponies, armed and equipped, and follow the warrior, who first declared war. Their chant is united with his, and thus a war party is made up. But it is not often that the entire band declares for war. The promoter of the war may be a simple warrior, without any authority whatever. For that particular expedition he may be chosen chief, or they may select another to lead them. When going against an enemy the commands of the chiefs are generally obeyed with alacrity. In peaceful seasons they have virtually no chief, or rather every venerable warrior among them is a chief, whose

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) · 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

622 624 554 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 701 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

623 Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to [622] participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 203 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in contravention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 685 684 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which, according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour, however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, 682 the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him. 673 These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn evenings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own 538 adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables, probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known 177 visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the [797] Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking [175] similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

pede. If Neighbor's estimate of a thousand or twelve hundred souls be accepted as the approximate population of the Southern Comanches, it is evident that not more than a fourth of these Indians were at the reservation when it was established. The two most influential chiefs, Buffalo Hump, a chronic disturber, and Sanaco, destined to become quite as great a rogue, were still at large. Other Indians came in at different times, so that on one occasion there were 557 souls; but 350 or 400 would represent a fair average for the whole period.[9] Evidently many Indians came and left very much at will, in spite of the efforts of the agents to hold them.

It would have been much better if the renegades had stayed away altogether, for their chiefs were jealous of Ka-tem-e-see and frequently connived to supersede him. During the winter of 1855-1856, Sanaco came in, gave up some horses his people had stolen in the country west of San Antonio, and returned to the prairies to bring in his band. He brought in his people according to promise, but soon left because as he alleged, troops were arriving at Camp Cooper and he felt that this would mean that his braves could get whiskey. However, he must have known that his men could get whiskey while running at large even more easily than at the reservation. A more plausible reason for his leaving is that given by the agent, John R. Baylor, namely, that he found he could not supersede his rival, Ka-tem-e-see. His band became even more lawless and was charged with a number of robberies and murders. Once, in jocular mood, the chief sent word by an Indian runner that he would bring his people in if Major Neighbors would furnish him and his people with all the whiskey they could drink. And they would stay, he said, as long as the whiskey lasted!

Buffalo Hump was even more troublesome than Sanaco. He would come in and make many promises stating that he had reformed and was determined to live the life of a good, honest Indian henceforth. But, if the spirit was willing the flesh was weak in the case of Buffalo Hump; and as soon as the agent had made him presents in consideration for his profession of good intentions he would steal away to the prairies to plunder and rob and live

9. The different reports of the agents show numbers as follows: January 1, 1856, 480; September 8, 1856, 557; September, 1857, 424; January 17, 1858, 381; September 16, 1858, 371; October 30, 1858, 341; July, 1859, 382.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 "The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is
701 by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull,
175 and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

701 The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the
726 dances prior to getting up a war-party.

535 In another place he adds:

> The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

175 It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five,
801 as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin
171 Shoshoneans.

559 With regard to the "f" shaped figures in the reproduction here,
701 it has been suggested[12] to the writer that possibly these are crooked
171 lances which are badges of office common to the various military
[175] societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

> 559 A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical ele-
> 701 ments of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

171 In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 159, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809–811.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

According to one informant the chief (any chief) long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick . . . . with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him from his horse.[15] 171

Kroeber, describing an Arapaho ceremonial organization of five degrees, also notes the presence of hooked sticks. In the ceremony he states all the participants carry lances; the two dancers of the second degree hooked ones; the dancers of the third degree straight lances.[16] The excellent plate of an Arapaho warrior with a hooked lance shown in Kroeber's *The Arapaho* reveals a detail that may be significant here. It will be noted in that plate that the turned down tip is held in position by a string or cord tied to the perpendicular part of the lance itself.[17] The Spanish copyist of the original Comanche report intended to indicate, possibly, a similar connection by the straight line drawn across the perpendicular of the "f" shaped figure, which gives those figures in the present reproduction their distinctive "f" character. 175

It is significant to note here, also, that the straight lances are indicated with point downward.[18] (See pl. 17.) This was the common method of carrying both straight and hooked lances. These lances were commonly thrust into the ground by the bearer, who must fight beside them no matter what the outcome until his standard was plucked out by one of his fellows and he was thereby released. The "f" shaped figures, placed at intervals in the line are also suggestive inasmuch as it was characteristic of Indian leaders to take position, not in front of their fellows, but within the line, which incidentally was a skirmish line.[19]

The lance was not only a standard carried in battle but was likewise a characteristic sign of office carried by the leaders.[20] The [701] [554] [113]

[15] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthr. Pap., 20: 283, 1924.

[16] A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull. 18: 159.

[17] Kroeber, The Arapaho, facing p. 175.

[18] The photographic reproduction here of the figure holding two lances, points downward, is from the original inscribed on a ledge of rocks eleven miles east and six miles north of Kenton, Oklahoma, in what is known as North Canyon. This was in general Comanche territory. The writer is indebted to Mr. W. C. Baker and Mr. C. A. Esmay, photographer, of Boise City, Oklahoma, for the photograph. [128]

[19] Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 569, 578.

[20] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 847, 896; Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 560.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

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554 Spaniards' guess in the *Note*, accordingly, that the "f" figures represent individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction, was at least half right.

[171] It is perhaps significant that of the number of leaders' lances shown here there are only two kinds, for it is usual in the Plains societies to have only two ranks or degrees of leaders. Further, the limited number of each kind shown suggest that they are emblems of rank. But as to the question whether leaders of the first rank among the Comanche would carry straight lances, those of the second rank hooked ones, there seems to be no certain answer. It is quite possible that this is the meaning of the straight [171] and hooked lances in their positions here. Both types of lances were in general use throughout the Plains. But it cannot be determined that the straight lance is consistently that of a first rank leader and the hooked lance that of a second rank leader. However, this is a distinct possibility among the Comanche.
171 Both types occur as first and second rank emblems among the Plains tribes; the order, and in fact their use or non-use, is quite variable.

TARJA[31]

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[648] Tally Sheet (*Tarja*) which Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza sent in blank on the 19th of May, 1786, to the Comanche Captain General Ecueracapa so that there might be indicated on it by means of lines and signs the chiefs who might set out on the campaign, in the expedition under his command, against the Apaches, the number of men which each detachment may be composed, and the successes that might be achieved. (See pl. 18.)

Explanation of the lines and signs, according to what Oxamaguea, son of the above-mentioned captain, gave to the Governor by word of mouth:

A Chief Quetaniaveni, with his lance by his side, commanding the reconnaissance party of thirty-one men;
a five horses he encountered and recaptured
B CaptainGeneral Ecueracapa with his sword[32]

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[113] [31] As indicated in footnote 1 above the original of this Tally Sheet is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. A copy of this Tally Sheet, the Informe of Ortiz, the Noticia, and the document here entitled Fourth Enclosure, are the four enclosures accompanying the Relacion. See footnotes 3, 4, and 7 above.

[32] The Spanish word given here, *sable*, for sword, technically signifying a weapon in Spanish military orders. appears to indicate the New Mexican Spaniards' recognition of the formal organization of the Comanche in military societies. So far as the writer knows no description of Comanche tribal life written by Spaniards has been

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

ambiguity of powers of the chieftains, it is not surprising that in this tribe there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. The law of the Comanche was neither legislative nor judge-made. It was, as we have written elsewhere, "hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct."[3] Thus it was almost exclusively a system of private law: a system of individual responsibility and individual action; a law that was case made.

The Comanches surely had no love of legalistic formalism, but they were a most litigious people. Their way of life engendered considerable internal friction. It might almost be said that the Comanches savored trouble-making. Their own accounts of their war parties as often as not begin with a laconic "once there was a bunch of Comanches out looking for trouble."

So, also, a man was often moved to take steps that made trouble. He stole another man's wife, or he secretly consorted with her. When this was done, the husband had no choice but to initiate legal action. Magnanimity on his part would bring no praise, for there was no doctrine of turning the other cheek. A man's status turned on his bravery, and for an offended husband not to act reflected merely on his courage; it was seen not as an act of forgiveness but as an expression of lily-livered cowardice. Wife-stealing and adultery were not the result of any sexual deprivation on the part of the offender; they were in effect deliberate challenges to the prestige of the husband. As such, he was forced in the eyes of the people to respond to them.

The way was open to him in legal action. Custom impelled men to violate the marital rights of other men. The culture also provided a legal remedy for the wronged man. Except in a few rare and extreme cases, the wrongdoer fully expected to pay the legal price—and did so without forcing the injured husband to a violent bodily attack. He knew well that he would have to pay a price, but he also knew that if he was steadfast and could outface the other man, the price would be light. In that case he would come out of the affair with greater public respect than the husband and he might get the woman to boot. So he took the risk.

In the memory of a dozen old Comanche informants still living in 1933 forty-five cases of old-time legal actions involving wife-stealing and adultery were still vivid enough for detailed recording.[4] Twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three involved adultery.

As it takes two to make a contract it also takes two to commit adultery or a wife-absconding (Comanche women were not forcibly stolen). The woman's role in these affairs was very frequently an expression of individual revolt against the workings of Postulate III.[A] Theoretically in all instances,

[3] Wallace and Hoebel, p. 224.

[4] Cf. Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 49–59.

A [see category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

/page 35 continued/

K 665 most of the well known families of the tribe, descendents of chiefs, prominant preachers, and some families made prominant by the army in the past hundred years. The opposition includes Peyotists as Christians. The slogans used by them are anti-graft and hucksterism for the most part. The party in power has, to my knowledge, made no defense campaign except that of a name calling variety in a disorganizing way. They have tried to convince Peyotists that the opposition group is anti-Peyote but this has had no effect as some prominant peyotists are in the opposition. Leaving the whys of factionalism K [554] aside, the present conflict can be seen as a further breakdown of traditional status and power held by a certain few families. In the furor many accusations are flung about which would seem to reflect the above mentioned split between acculturationist and traditionalist but which in reality are tags to cover up the real intent of both sides.

My own opinion, colored perhaps by the partisanship of my informants, my own background etc., is that at the moment the opposition aristocracy does have the more able leadership. Of course this is never a permanent situation.

C 665 The picture presented by the Comanches is not only different but /36/ also more difficult to grasp. The Comanches have also objected to the present business council and have withdrawn from the C federated tribal council entirely. But the Comanches do not have a 554 traditional group of good families which have provided leadership in the past. The present leaders of the move to separate are mainly young men of "no family" with a sprinkling of respected older leaders. But even the older leaders of the Comanches cannot be traced back to prominent families. In general, the prestige due to descent is not active among the Comanches. In fact, with the exception of the Parker family (lionized by the Whites) it is difficult to find out who the descendants of the chiefs are.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Some years later Sanapia married again, and many of my informants say that it was at this time that Sanapia abruptly ceased the behavior which had caused her so much notoriety. This was also the period during which Sanapia earnestly began her career as a doctor. Every account of cases which Sanapia treated stems from a time no later than 1945.

Sanapia and her present spouse have traveled extensively in the western United States. Their route always corresponds to areas of Indian population density. In the following, Sanapia recounts her first excursion to Wyoming.

> We went to New Mexico and to Las Vegas. We went over there. We just went, you know. We don't know where we going but we just went that way. Came to Navajos, Pueblos, and we visit among them and we stop at Las Vegas. Mind you, at that time I sure like to gamble. And so I went over there and start gambling. J——— [Sanapia's husband] said, "You better quit. We long way from home." And I just said, "As long as we stay here I'm going to gamble. If we lose anything, I win it back." Wanted him to get me some money. And so we stayed about ten days and then we went on. We went to Wyoming. They, the Shoshones, live in a reservation at Fort Washington, north from Lander, . . . town of that name, I think. Maybe something else. They live close together to one another, you know, not like us. We live so many miles from each other. They don't work, they don't do nothing. Just all day long they drum and sing and dance and every day something is going on and gambling is the biggest part of it. Well, when we first got over to Wyoming, that afternoon, we ask where are the Shoshone peoples. We was right there among them and we didn't even know it. We went into a big building, you know . . . it was their community building or something like a club or something like that. We went in. It was full of Indians. They was sitting around in groups around the floor. And there was blankets and they was sitting on it. And then we stand there and look at them and they was gambling . . . playing Mexican monte. And so I wanted to find out what my grandmather had told me so I went up and listen and when they talk about us. We didn't talk. We just be standing there. And they said "These are some kind of Indians, maybe Mexicans. They sure look like Mexicans." They said that. And we said, "We not Mexicans," . . . in Indian. And they look at one another and said, "Do you all talk like us?" and we said, "Yeah, we talk like you all." I said, "We your ancestors. That where we come from." So that evening they invite us to their homes . . . this whole group of people and that night we have group of Indians there. They were all talking to us . . . finding out where we live and where we come from and all that. And I told them, "You are the people that my grandmother told me about." And I told them about that big sickness what the Indians caught, and then I said, "You all got that and then you scattered. You belong to our tribe. That's what my grandmother told me." And they were surprised, you know.

Training to Become a Doctor

Sanapia recalls the four years of training to become a doctor as the most important years of her life. It is to those years that Sanapia owes the prestige which she enjoys today among the northern Comanches. As a doctor, she holds a status in her society equal to a man. She is at the zenith of traditionally defined prestige and social power acquirable by a woman in Comanche society.

The first phase of Sanapia's training began in the summer before her last

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

578 754 561 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the nomadic Comanche culture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the 754 561 prestigeful activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to con- 554 tinue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the 558 younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an 578 individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone, this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 178 561 556 578 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the postreservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain economic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older and economically more powerful woman could more successfuly compete with a younger woman for available males.

754 178 561 844 578 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche informants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the act of witchcraft.

754 178 571 361 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Comanche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within the same band became more isloated and thus any possibility of an act which could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 178 887 888 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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Sanapia, 1969.

The pervasive influence of acculturation is a fact which cannot be skirted, 177
however, and perhaps it is at the core of the inconsistencies between Sanapia and
the ethnographers of the early 1930s. Sanapia is particularly immediately affected 756
by the changes wrought by acculturation and change because of the nature of her 159
role. The notion of her "place" in Comanche society, plus the rigidly bound manner 177
in which her behavior is directed by certain supernatural sanctions, forces her to 554
react to change piecemeal. A Comanche not so bound as Sanapia to certain pre-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

scribed modes of behavior and thought can ebb and flow with the stimuli of acculturation. He can bend, withdraw, aggress, and withdraw again, while retaining a homogeneous and integrated self-concept. Sanapia, however, is relatively rigid and must react immediately lest her role structure be shattered.

Sanapia Prevails

To Sanapia, she is an eagle doctor first and foremost. Her whole life is bound in this role; therefore, its protection is extremely dear to her. Sanapia lives with compromise, rationalization, and intellectualization. Because of her functionalistic and pragmatic temperament, she must defend an institution which to her at times has little meaning in its particulars. Each new realization of acculturative changes stimulates her to attempt to fit this newly acquired realization into a nonantagonistic relationship to her role as Medicine woman. She knows that she must meet the threats of culture change directly if her institution is to continue to have meaning for Comanches who are reacting to acculturation.

In this manner she has incorporated elements and sentiments of Christianity and organized peyotism into her own religious structure in an attempt at compatibility with the religious atmosphere of her life situation. By accepting the basic tenets of Christianity and organized peyotism, she has also provided herself with further sources of supernatural powers. Sanapia has defined illness into "white" and "Indian" categories, thereby retaining her position in the overall medical structure of both cultures. She has borrowed words and concepts from the mass media to elaborate her views of certain aspects of physiology, health, and medicine. These are but a few examples Sanapia, while anchoring her sentiments and loyalties in a traditional Comanche setting, has extended herself, through her concern with her profession, into the white culture.

Perhaps the most significant points this study has illustrated are the psychotherapeutic function which Sanapia possesses in contemporary Comanche culture and the psychological function of ghost sickness. Although it cannot be absolutely substantiated, it would appear that ghost sickness, in its present form, is a new arrival in Comanche society. Ghost sickness can be considered, in most cases, a conversion reaction whose negative emotional basis is founded in the cultural and personal confusion and tension produced by the increasingly efficient success of acculturation in corroding the traditional basis of Comanche society. It then appears that Sanapia is the curer of a dynamic and functional human disorder. She is not a specialist in the treatment of broken bones or gunshot wounds like a buffalo doctor, nor of rattlesnake bites, like a snake doctor; she is the curer of an illness which is psychodynamic in nature. As her people change, ghost sickness will no doubt change, and Sanapia and successive eagle doctors' interpretation of ghost sickness will also change. Sanapia treats the individual rather than a specific static human affliction; she is essentially a native psychiatrist. This dynamic flexibility has enable Comanche eagle doctors to exist long after the other varieties of Comanche native dotcors have had their function usurped by white doctors during the ongoing process of acculturation.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

lose his balance, but the larger Indian boys, and some of the younger Indian men, began to give him a bad time.

It was as though they had been waiting for him to make a mistake. They were telling him he was too old even to get on a horse, let alone ride one. Some of the remarks were much less polite and even ribald. The old Indian turned his angry gaze on them and spat out an invective that tended to silence them. What he said was not in my vocabulary, and I never learned what he called them.

Then he turned back to his horse, shortened up his hold on the reins, and vaulted completely over the stallion, landing lightly on his feet, and then vaulted onto the horse's back. Then he proceeded to the starting line and won himself a horse race.

I have stood near this horse's shoulders, and his withers were higher than my eyes—possibly as high as the top of my head, five feet ten and a half inches. In other words, this horse stood seventeen to eighteen hands high.

The old fellow was almost too fabulous to be believed in. As nearly as I was able to discern, he was already a Comanche legend, though he still lived. Mostly he was held in awe by the other Indians, especially by the younger ones. Maybe he was the bogeyman the elders threatened the children with. This one time was the only time I ever saw anyone try to take liberties with him. I doubt that those young Indians would have done so then but for the presence of many white people, U.S. marshals, and Indian police.

Almost any version of the story of the one-eyed man at the three-ringed circus could have been applied to me when I hit the Comanche country in the early days of March, 1902. I had had my fourteenth birthday in January. Everything was new. Everything was wonderful. I would not have changed a single thing.

Since I am Scotch, the love of the land is as much a part of me as the color of my skin or my hair. I am not trying to sound poetic when I say that the sweep of the grass-covered Comanche prairies was soul-satisfying. West Cache Creek, then the most beautiful of prairie streams, furnished the finest fishing and swimming that I have ever enjoyed, anywhere, any time.

There were wild ducks most months of the year, snipe, killdee, plover, doves, curlew, and some bobwhite for my gun. The young of a small variety of cottontail rabbits that lived in the prairie dog towns and were called prairie dog rabbits fell to my rifle. They were superior

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

men and big boys were to be killed. The only exception would be 721
if an old saddlemaker was willing to come along and work for his life.

The women and children and all the loot were to be brought to a central spot where the booty was to be loaded on the hundred packhorses, along with the best of the women and the children. The prisoners would be tied on and the horses turned loose so as to be driven across the desert-like land. The plan was to start as soon as possible and drive all night, and they would be to water before the middle of the next forenoon.

There were to be water bags, so as to give prisoners a drink, but no warrior was to touch water until they arrived at the rendezvous with the warriors who had the horses. There they figured they could safely rest a day, and then it was several hard days to the river and safety. The leader was sure that the pursuit would not be strong enough to follow across the river.

The horses were run off, the town was captured, all desirable loot was placed on the packhorses, and the retreat was made safely back across the river. But one thing unforeseen and uncontemplated happened. The women had such a fear of life as Comanche slaves that they fought the warriors to the death. The story is that they would even take up their children and hurl them at the warriors as though they were sticks of wood.

The women used their butcher knives, hatchets, and axes for weapons, anything they could get their hands on, even the children. Thoroughly enraged, the warriors not only killed all the women, young and old, but they fired the town against the orders of their leader, who figured this would notify the whole countryside.

While the warriors were searching and firing one of the last houses, 727
they heard a baby cry and found a very young baby boy, hidden up on the top of the wall, shoved back under the roof. This was the one living person of all of those that had been left in the town. Though they were many days from their womenfolks, they were able to bring this child to their women alive. He was raised as a Comanche and became a great warrior. He was Mo-cho-rook.

I said earlier that as nearly as I could tell, he was already a legend 554
among the Comanches while yet he lived. I doubt that I can remember half of the stories that were told concerning him. One was that he 593
would have but one wife at a time, and they soon died from overwork. 587
Another was that his present wife was the fourth sister he had had as